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HARRIET P. FULLER, Teacher of Latin,  
*English High School, Providence, R. I.*



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# THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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## HEXAMETERS

Our single long day of conscious racial life, in Western Europe and here in Hesperia, began, or now seems to have begun, with the Homeric bugle-call at grey dawn, long, no one knows how long, before Herodotus sketched the world of sunrise. And the tale is consecutive, unbroken. Andrew Lang said once that, under bitter compulsion, if he must choose, he would give up *all* the rest of Greek literature and cleave unto Homer. May no such choice fall to us, even in a nightmare! But, at any rate, the Trojan epic has not only dominated largely the forms of poetry ever since, but it was a very large, doubtless the largest traditional force in shaping the theology, the ideals, the life of the later Hellenism in datable ages.

To illustrate on one side these truisms, let us draw out and scrutinize for a few minutes one familiar golden thread, and note especially how firmly it binds together the near and the far-a-way: unless, as sad Evangeline's poet would remind us, though not, this time, in the stately dactyls, 'tis with song as with sorrow, both of which are all men's heritage:

There is no far nor near,  
There is neither *there* nor *here*,  
There is no soon nor late,  
In that Chamber over the Gate,  
Nor any long ago  
To that cry of human woe  
"O Absalom, my son!"

Indeed there was a chamber window, quite like David's, over the great west gate that opened on the Trojan plain: and from it, one bitter day, Hecuba leaned, baring her motherly bosom, and crying in despairing agony:

Hector, my child, this bosom revere, and have pity upon me.  
If with my breast I ever have made thee forgetful of sorrows,  
Now be mindful thereof, dear child, and avoiding the foe-man  
Enter within our walls: stand not thus forward to meet him.

It is here not even the measure, the rhythm, alone, that is, like the name of 'the Argo, to all men familiar'. It is also the typical appeal of woman: and the age-long deafness of man to it, no less. Even so, a day or two before, had Andromache cried 'Tarry thou here on the rampart',—and, like his mother, she too would have scorned him if he had obeyed, because, long after the

duel of men or states is a forgotten madness, when destruction of human life shall no longer be a path to glory, the basic laws of sex will remain, and Tennyson's wisest, deepest line will vibrate still,

Man dreams of fame, while woman wakes to love.

A hundred miles North of us the little domestic scene is repeated to-day, and daily. It is because such elemental truth, nobly uttered, is timeless and deathless, that Homer and Kipling are equally notable, to-day, as we gaze across the last and most drear of battlefields.

The heroic hexameter is a verse of six stresses, or let us say, six elevations, followed by as many depressions (Senkungen). At least it is a measure of six bars in  $\frac{4}{8}$  time, usually slurred in modern utterance to about  $\frac{3}{8}$  time. But such a verse is entirely too long to be uttered in a single expiration of breath: or, to put essentially the same case in other terms, it is about double the length of the normal average simple sentence, or clause in a compound or complex sentence, in any language meant to be enunciated by breathing—or breathless—mortals. Therefore the so-called caesura, or cleavage, must be really a suture, a seam. Two normal verses must have been stitched together, and the single hexameter is essentially a couplet. It will usually hold two direct simple statements rather than one, thus:

Nay but have pity upon me, and tarry thou here on the rampart.

Mitleid zeige mir doch, und bleibe Du hier auf dem Turme!

These are the voices three, that speak of endless endeavour.

Or else it has been padded with fixed epithets, patronymics, obsequious forms of address, or even otiose adverbs:

Kronian monarch, enthroned on high, in the ether who dwellest. . .

Of course the division must not be mere accurate bisection. That would be monotonous and so at last unendurable. Some verses run far over the middle point:

Greatly as well did he suffer in war, till he founded a city.  
Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem.

Occasionally a line is neatly trisected:

You are a writer, and I am a fighter, but here is a fellow  
Yet the most discouraging of all are those verses which  
would fain forbid the utterer to pause at all:

*Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi.*

It is essentially the same fusion of two short verses that  
is seen in the *Nibelungenlied*, which sings e.g.

Von fröuden, hochgeziten, von weinen und von klagen,  
and even nearer home, where

The king is in the parlor,  
Counting out his money.

But it was the early Greek who found the exact point  
where flexible freedom and harmonious law dwelt  
together. Hence, the perfect meter.

It is in this perfected Homeric measure, and that  
alone, that we receive the first tidings of thinking,  
suffering, loving and quarrelsome men and women in  
European lands: 15,000 noble verses in the *Iliad*,  
12,000 in the *Odyssey*, and tantalizing fragments of the  
lost epics, the more localized legends and cults of the  
Homeric Hymns, the homelier strains of the Hesiodic  
Works and Days, the ancient kernel of the Theogony  
amid the interpolations of much later ages—every word,  
in short, that can be much older than the seventh  
century B. C. And the more intimate we grow with the  
*Iliad*, in particular, the more does its form seem to fit  
to substance as closely as human bone and flesh, almost  
indeed as body and soul.

This is true only in Greek, and Homeric Greek at that,  
which seems even to have moulded its plastic word-  
forms to fit into the measure. By comparison, all later  
hexameter is imitative, conscious, artificial. In collo-  
quial Attic, even when the preposition settles itself as a  
true prefix, when the article became necessary, when  
resonant *αω*'s and *οω*'s had contracted, the sentence  
oftenest fell naturally, as Aristotle remarks, into iambic  
time, essentially our blank verse.

Latin has too many heavy syllables, or too few easily  
shuffled light adverbs, like *γε, δῆ, οὐν, ἄρα*, to echo Homer.  
English and German cannot keep step at all in the fetters  
of classic rules for quantity. English, besides, has lost  
too many of the endings that make Anglo-Saxon or  
High German fit better, especially, into the close of an  
heroic line.

It is not wholly our fancy that Vergil's rhythm best  
suits the sadder tones, as *Sunt lacrimae rerum; forsan  
et haec olim meminisse iuvabit; tantae molis erat  
Romanam condere gentem*. Indeed, such cadences  
gained ground on him in later years, after the livelier  
youthful trip of *Tityre tu patulae*. Yet I think the  
genius of the Latin language often helped or forced him  
to be spondaic, if not even despondent, though his  
truest lovers are prone to see him as rather an elegiac or  
at most idyllic poet at heart, sinking uncomplainingly  
under the too-heavy epic "burden of an honor unto  
which he was not born".

Of course in Vergil's undoubted works (all of which  
actually bear pure Greek titles), the avowed imitation  
extends to matter as well as to form. The *Eclogues*  
could never have existed but for Theocritus; the  
*Georgics* are heavily indebted to Hesiod and other  
Greeks; in the first half of the *Aeneid* we are often, very  
often, frankly reminded that we are following *Odys-  
seus's* footprints, or the track of his heels, while the  
battles of the later books are paler replicas of the con-  
tests in the Scamandrian plain. One might just about  
as well ignore the history, the culture, the poetic  
utterance of England, and hope nevertheless to master  
American literature.

In Greek lands, the great creative impulses of later  
times, choral lyric after 700 B. C., drama in the fifth  
century, by no means copied Homer's meter. In all  
the struggle for varied rhythms in tragic chorus and  
Pindaric ode, the regular series of dactyls is noticeably  
rare. Even the more steadfast movement of the  
dramatic dialogue was at first trochaic, then a quiet  
iambic movement.

The chief revival of pure hexameter in Greek was in  
the belated Alexandrian epic: and here again Apollonius  
Rhodius, for example, is constantly borrowing not  
Homer's meter alone, but vocabulary, syntax, dialectic  
forms, and even poetic spirit, at least so far as he is able.  
Theocritus's verse, indeed, like the matter, is fully  
justified as his own. The broad Doric coloring, the  
rustic tone, the late-dragging caesura are only the most  
obvious of his ear-marks. Yet even he is fond of  
Homeric echoes in word and idea.

In Rome Vergil at once displaced Homer as the direct  
model. All the four lesser epic versifiers of the first  
century, Lucan, Statius, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus  
follow, far astern, after Aeneas's galleon. Ending his  
twelve years' toil on so Hellenic a theme as his *Thebaid*,  
Statius launches it with the envoi:

Live, I pray, nor yet draw nigh to the Sacred Aeneid:  
Follow thou, rather, afar, and always worship her foot-  
prints.

This has indeed always remained largely the attitude of  
poets and peoples in Latin lands, for whom Vergil, not  
Homer nor even Dante, is the poet: a choice I find hard  
to comprehend.

There is, however, a Latin poem, a masterpiece, or,  
at the least a piece quite unique in its plan, by no means  
closely imitative of Vergil, excelling his work in ease,  
naturalness, versatility, indeed easily the most ingenious  
piece of hexameter versification ever composed in the  
Latin language. I mean Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.  
Possibly full knowledge of his Greek sources would  
lessen our admiration for this looselinked *tour de force*.  
Often it may be quite as close a translation as that  
"pretty poem", the most skilful mass of rhymed penta-  
meters in English, which Bentley would not let Mr.  
Pope call Homer! Ovid's liftings we shall doubtless  
never have the means fully to detect, nor his neighbor  
Horace's, who was also a skilled conveyer, suspected by



the uncharitable of being often little more. As the matter stands, it is no wonder that Ovid's lighthearted handling of the Greek myths had far more influence on Renaissance painting than any other book whatsoever.

Other names, notably Ennius and Lucretius, will at once come to mind. To father Ennius, Latin and Greek were both in a sense foreign languages. No wonder his pioneer effort to fit the words of the one to the meter borrowed from the other often seems labored and heavy. Lucretius, intent on the exact truth and scientific statement, is at times confessedly baffled by a meter that excluded many important Latin words. In purely poetical flights his lines often seem breathless, and many are too closely run together for easy utterance; but at his best he flies highest of all Roman poets. Indeed, though he so derides the belief in continued existence after death, perhaps it is he who is "Rome's least mortal mind". Catullus's little epic on Peleus and Thetis, especially the Song of the Fates, is marvelously swift and light. If to all these we add Horace's jogging verse in Satires and Epistles, the dominance of the dactyls in the chief Latin poets becomes almost oppressive. Most Latin poetry must be read in this measure, the avowed echo of the Hellenic prime, while it borrows myths, similes, even local color of every sort almost as persistently from Hellas.

As to modern hexameters only a few words can be permitted. It seems strange that so little eminent success has been attained with them, at least in the accentual form, in Italian. Of quantity that language retains little consciousness. What Carducci did not accomplish is not likely to come to pass. Of course to Yankee ears the most familiar examples are Longfellow's Evangeline, the happier lovetale of his grandam Priscilla, and of her Quaker replica Elizabeth, in a tale of the Wayside Inn, who naviely remarks to John Alden's namesake,

I have received from the Lord a call to love thee, John  
Estauah.

Kinglsey's verses are better quantified, smoother, even too swift:

Far away over the sea on the Syrian shore to the south-  
ward  
Dwells in the well-tilled lowland a darkhaired Ethiop  
people.

So much alliteration, line-rhyme, assonance, as this, or Longfellow's in

Sudden and loud as the sound of a soldier grounding his  
musket,

are hardly classical. Latin, like Italian, must have required, rather, constant effort to avoid too monotonous series of jingling sounds. Clough's *Bothie of Tabernavoulich* is a collection of absurdly rough, sportive, often wilful hexameters or should-be hexameters. No very familiar names besides these have occurred to me off-hand.

Goethe's most famous experiment in dactyls is the beloved Hermann and Dorothea, though Reineke Fuchs is more than twice as extended. Especially interesting is his attempt to complete the story of the Iliad down to Achilles's death. This remained a fragment of a few hundred lines, despite Schiller's enthusiasm for the plan. Voss's *Luisa* is an idyll in dactyls, unless my memory serves me a bad trick. Much oftener seen in America is his remarkable rendering, line-for-line, of the entire Iliad and Odyssey. Such an attempt in English is far more difficult. From limited personal experience I am disposed to think it either impossible, or attainable only by a great master of rhythm and Greek at once: a Milton, perchance, or a Swinburne. Three gifted Englishmen, Worsley, Conington, and Fairfax Taylor, have successfully moulded the ancient epics into Spenserian stanzas. They might have worked the more-to-be desired miracle. To make Homer entirely intelligible would require a perfect version in the original meter. Until that be created—*for-tasse igitur usque ad kalendas Graecas*—, there will be just one alternative road, but an alluring one: rose-bordered, that is, with roses and thorns—read him in Greek. Every translator, of course, confesses that there is always much delicate local color, personal charm, aroma of race and land and speech, which no outlandish version can catch ere it vanishes. Come to Hellas, our spiritual Vaterland, and strive to get it all!

HOBART COLLEGE.

W. C. LAWTON.

## REVIEW

Greek Philosophy. Part I, Thales to Plato. By John Burnet. London: Macmillan Company (1914). Pages x + 360. \$2.50.

This excellent work is divided into three books. Of these, the first, in six chapters, deals with the world, the second, in five chapters, with knowledge and conduct, the third, in six chapters, with Plato. To these is added, in an Appendix, a table of Plato's family, adapted from Kirchner's *Prosopographia* to the conclusions reached by the author in the present work, English and Greek Indices conclude the volume.

In the Preface the author states that the volume was interrupted in its preparation and belated by his work on the *Lexicon Platonicum*; that he has been obliged "to deal with certain parts of the subject in a form which does not admit of detailed argument and still less of controversy"; that for the first book greater detail is made unnecessary by the second edition of his *Early Greek Philosophy*, but that certain parts of the third book embody baldly-stated conclusions which the author hopes to discuss in later works. He declares that his chief aim for the present "has been to assist students who wish to acquire a first-hand knowledge of what Plato actually says in the dialogues of his maturity".

The author has "not thought it well to present Greek names in a Latin dress". But the practice of writing "Theaitetos" as the name of the philosopher in Athens and "Theaetetus" as the name of the dialogue does not satisfy our taste for uniformity. The possible failure to identify Herakleitos when his name is written Heraclitus seems trivial as a reason for using the former spelling.

It is worth while to note the author's idea of the nature of philosophical research and writing. In his mind the history of philosophy as such is impossible. Yet there are certain external matters, such as the times and the contemporaries of a philosopher, which are knowable and important. There are also the underlying data of Greek science and mathematics, which are reasonably determinable and essential. And there is the purgative function of history. Misconceptions, warped and biased judgments, unfounded dogma and prejudice must be cleared away. Philosophy is not mythology; nor is it positive science. It is related to both. Philosophy begins with the Greeks because rational science begins with the Greeks. Egyptian science and Babylonian science were not really rational science, as is shown by the fact that Greek science in some aspects remained at a very primitive stage for two or three generations after the contribution which Egypt and Babylon had to make in this line came to Hellas. Babylonian astronomy doubtless attained its highest development under Greek influence. The sober, critical, discriminating judgment of the Greeks in distinguishing scientific observations and erroneous inferences is rightly recognized. Philosophy, therefore, undertakes to answer the question What is real? In this appears also the advancement of positive science. But the problem of reality involves man's relation to that reality and this goes beyond the realm of pure science. There is here an act of faith, a belief, even among the Greek philosophers, that reality is divine, and that the human soul must make contact with it. In fact the religious instinct prompted investigation. To know reality, and to communicate that knowledge was the burning zeal of these early Greeks.

Following the customary path of the historian of philosophy the author deals with the search of the early Ionians for ultimate matter, and gives a brief analysis of the contribution to the solution of the problem made by Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes. Considerable agitation has arisen over the use of the term *φύσις* as applied to the material substrate of things. In the present volume the author claims (page 27), that the word was used by the Greeks in the sense of original matter; he cites Plato, *Laws* 891 C, and Aristotle, *Met.* 4.4, 1014b 16, in proof that *φύσις* was not understood to mean primarily 'growth', but 'substance', and ends by saying that to his mind "the fact that the atomists called the atoms *φύσις* is conclusive". This has been called in question by Professor Heidel<sup>1</sup>, who states that "Professor Burnet . . .

in a private communication to the author virtually retracted the statements in question". It is safe to say, therefore, that whether or not *φύσις* primarily means 'to grow', *φύσις* is not claimed to convey to us the idea of elemental substance.

The author next reviews the agencies which caused the overthrow of the Ionian civilization, which was thoroughly secular in its character. He finds these agencies in Homer's human hierarchy of heaven, and in Hesiod's gods, which were only personifications of natural phenomena or of human passions. A commercial aristocracy replaced the feudal society of Homer. The reaction against Homeric polytheism set in when men felt a real need of worship. The influence of Delos continued. But times were ripe for the worship of such gods as Demeter and Dionysus, two gods scarcely known to Homer. The Orphic revival was the response of men's hearts to the changed order of things. Thus the orphic religion appealed to men by a revelation made through sacred books, and was established in organizations not on the basis of blood but of fraternity. Such ideas as that of the immortality of the soul, of heaven and hell, of redemption and purification were demanding and receiving recognition. This spirit of enlightenment is especially noticeable in Xenophanes. He represents the reaction against the effeminate refinement, the pessimism and the frivolity of his age. There was a corresponding change in dress, and also in architecture. Xenophanes led the revolt against Homer's anthropomorphic polytheism. He reduced the gods to meteorological phenomena, mostly clouds. The world is the one, the only god. This is pantheism. But Xenophanes was not a true scientist. His views of the world were antiquated. 'Even if a man should chance to say the complete truth', said he, 'he cannot know that it is the complete truth' (fr. 34). Thus Xenophanes antedates Epicurus. But neither in polytheism or pantheism on the one hand, nor in enlightened scepticism on the other lay the promise of the future. That promise was in the work of Pythagoras, who first attempted to unite science and religion.

So little is known with certainty about Pythagoras that it has ever been difficult to arrive at an accurate estimate of his theory or his merit. It has been conceded generally that the doctrines of the early Pythagorean school can safely be ascribed to Pythagoras himself. The author's statement (37, footnote), that Aristotle never attributes any doctrine to Pythagoras himself is not strictly true, although it appears that only one direct reference is made by Aristotle to Pythagoras. This is the statement (*Mag. Mor.* 1.1.6), that Pythagoras was the first to undertake to deal with virtue, but he did it in a wrong way, since he referred virtues to numbers, and so did not adopt a proper method for the investigation of virtues. That Pythagoras of Samos was likely influenced by the philosophy of Miletus and that the worship of Apollo as instanced in the Cretan rites lay at the foundation of Pythagorean mysticism may be accepted as true. The three classes of men,

<sup>1</sup>Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods 10. 106.

lovers of wisdom, lovers of honor, and lovers of gain, might suggest the tripartite division of the soul for which there is some authority. The number theory which is characteristic of the Pythagoreans has ever had great difficulty of acceptance. Aristotle found it so. To conceive of numbers as both the form and the substance of things seems a thing apart from our world. The fundamental doctrine seems to be that both in the realm of numbers and in the realm of the universe the unity which was first formed became the moving cause by which through limitation (τὸ πέρασ) infinity of numbers on the one hand and infinity of universal substance on the other were brought into finite relations<sup>2</sup>. The author rightly notices the fact that in aligning man with the universe the early Pythagoreans saw the correspondence between the two parts of man's being, body and spirit, and the substance and form of the orderly universe; that they considered the two great arts, medicine and music, the means by which respectively the body and the soul are purged from impurities; that these two arts also are based on numerical relations, and that in this sense health as well as harmony is an attunement.

Heraclitus and Parmenides are passed with brief comment. By far the most interesting part of Heraclitus's doctrine is that of the soul. While the author does not go so far, it is quite plain that the human soul, which in reality is a form of ἀήρ, corresponds in its nature to the varying conditions of the air, which near the earth is dense and heavy, while upwards toward the sun it becomes ethereal. With this interpretation the doctrine of the 'moist soul' and the 'dry soul' is understandable<sup>3</sup>. With Professor Burnet's statement that Parmenides wrote later than Heraclitus and in conscious opposition to him many will not agree. The words "for whom it is and is not the same" may, as Professor Shorey points out (*American Journal of Philology*, 21. 212 ff.), refer to Heraclitus, but this does not prove that they must refer to him. Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Philosophy* 2. 111, concludes that Parmenides was not acquainted with the doctrine of Heraclitus, or took no account of it in his philosophical system.

The Parmenidean doctrine 'Being is' is an answer to the fundamental question 'What is reality?', just as the Heraclitean doctrine 'All is flux' is an answer to that same question. The question is older than either of these philosophers.

Professor Burnet has done admirably in his treatment of the pluralists in their effort to solve the dilemma of Parmenides—the problem of becoming. Empedocles thought it could be done by increasing the number of the elements. It is common to suppose that the

four 'roots' of Empedocles's doctrine are motionless, lifeless things until the advent of love and strife into the world. It may be a question, however, whether these latter are not introduced to cause qualitative changes only, while the four elements possess a certain amount of motion and self-directed action by which like comes to like<sup>4</sup>. This, to be sure, would result only in quantitative change, whereas the entrance of love and strife produces qualitative change. Anaxagoras's solution of the problem led him to posit *χρήματα*, by which he meant, says Mr. Burnet, that the original mass was infinitely divisible, and that the smallest division would still 'contain all things' and would be like the whole. Yet, withal, each particle had not the same equal amount of 'all things' in itself. Thus things are named from the preponderating elements composing them. That this is the "very opposite of the doctrine of elements" does not fully appear when one considers the alleged claim of Anaxagoras that snow is black as well as white, but it is called white because the white so far exceeds the black<sup>5</sup>. Applied to the elements, this would mean that particles of bone, for instance, include all other substances in minute form, but that bone so far predominates that the whole is known as bone. And even so considered, virtually the whole mass, great or small, is bone, since there is not a sufficient amount of other substance to be detected. The distinction is theoretical and academic rather than practical and essential. The author rightly shows that *νοῦς*, the moving power of Anaxagoras's system, is not incorporeal in its nature.

In the chapter on the Eleatics and Pythagoreans Professor Burnet well sets forth the theory of limits as propounded by Zeno. All these arguments, as he shows, involve a necessary recourse to infinities either as points in space or in time, in essential connection with finite measurements of space and time. This is fatal in practice. That an oncoming train will never overtake a loiterer on the track in front of it because, in sooth, it must first traverse half the distance to him, then half of the remaining distance, and so on, ad infinitum, theoretically works out with mathematical precision and with beautiful logic, but ends in practical disaster for the one who so reckons. That the later Pythagoreans modified the original doctrine of numbers

<sup>2</sup>That this is the true interpretation is, I think, suggested by fr. 17, 6-8, 16-20, 34-35; and fr. 21. 13-14. Aristotle (*De Anim.* 1. 2; 404b8) certainly understood Empedocles to call his elements souls (*στοιχεῖα*). For the objection to this interpretation see Professor Heidel, *On Fragments of the Pre-Socratics*, *Proceedings American Academy*, 48. 726.

<sup>3</sup>This is at best scarcely the thought of Anaxagoras as recorded by Sextus (*Pyrrh.* 1. 33). After stating (31) ἀντιτίθεμεν δὲ ἡ φαινόμενα φαινόμενοις ἢ νοούμενα νοουμένοις ἢ ἐναλλάξ, citing an example of each, Anaxagoras continues: νοούμενα δὲ φαινόμενοις, ὡς ὁ Ἀναξαγόρας τῷ λευκῇ εἶναι τὴν χιῶνα ἀντίτρεθαι ὅτι ἡ χιῶν ὕδωρ ἐστὶ πεπηγὸς, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἐστὶ μέλαν, καὶ ἡ χιῶν ἀρα μέλαινα ἐστὶ. This proof that snow is black because snow is frozen water and water is dark is quite different from the statement that snow is called white because that color predominates.

<sup>2</sup>For some time it has been the reviewer's belief that Parmenides's poem is largely taken up with either a refutation or an acceptance of Pythagoreanism. Compare *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 43.81 ff.

<sup>3</sup>The reviewer has offered an emendation for Heraclitus's fragment 118 (Diels) by reading *αἰὲρ ξερὴ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη* instead of *αὐγὴ ξερὴ, κτλ.* (Compare *Tr. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 44.163 ff.). This may throw some light on the doctrine.



seems certain. Things now become not numbers, but *like* numbers. Here arose the forms (*εἶδη*), to which, through the influence of Socrates and Plato, men turned their thoughts in the matter of moral and aesthetic considerations.

The first part of the historical account of philosophy, according to the writer, ends with Leucippus's doctrine of atoms and void. The author well insists on atom motion, in this early period of atomism, as motion in all directions, and not, as the Epicureans later taught, motion eternally downward. Judging from this, we may say that Leucippus and Democritus had the advantage in the matter of consistency over the later atomists. The linking together, however, of atoms and the Pythagorean numbers may not be a happy stroke. It is hardly possible that the numbers suggested to Zeno the atoms. Some remote resemblances, to be sure, are noticeable. The 'vortex' as the resultant of atoms moving in void is, at the time of Leucippus, the most advanced idea in philosophy. With this answer to the question, what is reality, a tide sets in against science, and the current of men's thoughts is turned into the channel of knowledge and conduct.

The Sophists stood at the forefront of this movement. Law governing human conduct and nature of which man is a part are in a sense antithetical. The question naturally arises whether this explanation of the universe is better than that, whether man in his sphere is amenable to this code of laws or to that, whether everything connected with both of them might not have been different than it has been found and reported to be. It was the function of the Sophist to raise these questions. And, as the author points out, Protagoras and Gorgias take a negative attitude not so much toward religion as toward science. The Age of the Sophists is primarily an age of reaction against science. The great contribution of Protagoras to the problem was his proposition that 'man is the measure of all things, of that which is how it is, of that which is not how it is not'. The theory advanced by the author is plausible, that 'measure' in this proposition has its basis in mathematics, and that, in things numerical, ratios exist of which man, that is, the accumulated experience of mankind, is the final measure or test. A theory that works counter to the practical experience of mankind is unsafe and may be disregarded. Such, for instance, was Zeno's theory of limits. But who is *man* that is the measure of all things? Plato held that one belief may be 'better' than another, apparently meaning by 'better' the beliefs which are most in accord with those of a man in normal conditions of mind and body. Thus the normal man becomes the measure of all things. This is the test of pragmatism. It is possible to make two opposite statements about something, both of which are 'true', but not with the same degree of strength. The author does well here in pointing out that it is the duty of the disputant to make the weaker statement the stronger, and that in itself this is not an immoral doc-

trine. The common interpretation of the phrase 'to make the worse appear the better reason' does involve moral delinquencies. It is apparent, however, that dialectic of this sort had driven Gorgias and Protagoras to renounce all science. This is seen in Gorgias's conclusions: (1) there is nothing; (2) even if there is anything, we cannot know it; (3) even if we could know it, we could not communicate our knowledge to anyone else.

It is the custom of later years in treating of Socrates to give little weight to Xenophon's account of that philosopher in his *Memorabilia*. That account is considered biased, untrustworthy, and perhaps largely fictitious. Professor Burnet's opinion is that Xenophon is thoroughly unreliable, that the Platonic Socrates is the only Socrates we may hope to know well, and that, "if he is a fictitious character, he is nevertheless more important than most men of flesh and blood". Aristophanes's *Clouds* presents Socrates in caricature. It is Mr. Burnet's belief that there are two distinct periods in Socrates's life, and that Aristophanes is dealing with the earlier, Xenophon with the later period. This is plausible and well sustained. As a young man, according to the *Clouds*, Socrates was interested in natural science, in the things of the heavens and the things 'beneath the earth'. The doctrine of air as the elemental substance posited by Anaximenes, had been revived by Diogenes, and in Plato Socrates is made to say that he had investigated the question whether 'what we think with' was air or blood. Moreover, Aristophanes represents Socrates as suspended in a basket in mid air in order to get pure dry air for his thought. All this accords well with the interests of his earlier years.

Socrates was, in a sense, a mystic, strangely influenced by Orphicism and Pythagoreanism, yet withal maintaining a balance of mind and poise of judgment that kept him from the fantastic features of either of these influences. Just because of this reserve, he would naturally turn to the science of his day for satisfaction. But the nature theories presented by that science all proved disappointing. Zeno, and the art of dialectic, made a strong appeal to him. In the midst of all this he discovered that he had a mission. The oracle had revealed it. He was the instrument chosen by God to convince men of their ignorance. This oracle was not taken too seriously by Socrates, but with sufficient seriousness to give him added influence over men who knew him. Our author has drawn a clear picture of this unique character—his physical features, and his mental and spiritual endowments. His was a snub nose, his eyes protruding, his gait awkward; he wore no sandals; he resembled a Silenus or a Satyr; he claimed to have a *daemon* which kept him out of peril and politics; he dreamed dreams; he had a rich vein of humor. His philosophy is said to be characterized by "intelligible forms"; only objects of thought have real *being*, objects of sense are *becoming*; our criterion of objective reality arises from our experience of sensible things, yet apprehension of the standard cannot be produced by the



particular things we sense, since it goes beyond any and all of them. Professor Burnet seems obscure here. It would appear that the "forms" are "class-concepts", at least that they are "concepts" based on human experience and apprehended by the soul, while particulars are known through sense. The recognition of the universal in a particular case may pass under the head of "Reminiscence", but surely the type, the form, the concept are the standard of recognition and comparison, and this is precisely the teaching of Socrates. In method this theory of knowledge is dialectical. It involves the Socratic examination of self, the search for true enlightenment, and the formation of concepts as a standard of proof. In the latter instance things of sense are real in so far as they participate in ultimate reality or form. Yet in the application of this theory there arises the difficulty of constructing the form of the 'good' in a method similar to that by which the forms of sense objects are constructed. For, to the Sophists, 'goodness' was efficiency, particularly in the management of the family and the state. Socrates identified knowledge and goodness, thus making a distinction between philosophic goodness and popular goodness. The former alone is real knowledge and alone can be taught.

At the close of this discussion of Socrates Professor Burnet posits two statements in explanation of his method: (1) that it is "worth while to try the experiment of taking Plato's dialogues in their natural sense"; and (2) "that the burden of proof does not lie with those who adopt this hypothesis, but with those who deny it". The Socrates of Plato is not a fiction. And withal, Plato is a dramatic artist.

A word only may be added concerning the charge on which Socrates was condemned. As the author points out, it flouts the rational sense of men to be told that Socrates was really condemned on the charge of introducing new gods or of corrupting the young men of Athens. The real meaning and purport of the charge was "that Socrates had fostered in young men that anti-democratic spirit which has led to the oligarchical revolutions".

Democritus, the disciple of Leucippus, had to face precisely the same problems of knowledge and conduct as Socrates had to face. To these problems the respective solutions offered by Socrates and Democritus laid the foundations for the system of idealism on the one hand and for the system of materialism on the other. For both these philosophers the soul is the instrument of knowledge, but with Socrates the soul is a non-material, immortal entity, with Democritus it is material and mortal.

The third book of Professor Burnet's work is devoted to Plato. It includes the real contribution of the author to the understanding and interpretation of that philosopher. The author's theory is that in the earlier, so-called Socratic dialogues, the Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Charmides, Laches, Lysis, Euthydemus, Protagoras, Gorgias, and Meno, and doubtless the Symposium, Phaedo, and in part the Republic, Plato's dramatic

power is exercised to the full; "that Plato had as yet nothing that could rightly be called a philosophy of his own"; that certain parts of the Republic and the Phaedrus give the first intimations of independent philosophic thought on the part of Plato. This decidedly is a revolutionary view. It has been customary to recognize the so-called Socratic dialogues as works in which Plato was much under the sway of the master's influence, and that in his later years he asserted his own position, and established his own system of belief; that there was a natural and a normal growth in the development of Plato's logic, beginning with the impulse imparted from Socrates and ending in Plato's complete mastery of his own system. It is Professor Burnet's opinion that Plato's great theory, the doctrine of ideas, originated with Pythagoras, or the Pythagoreans, that Socrates in his earlier years, interested as he was in matters physical, gave little heed to this metaphysical problem, that in the later period he came to recognize the importance of the concept as the standard of reality, that Plato, in the earlier dialogues, is masquerading as Socrates, that later there was a complete break in Plato's thought, and that then he came forth with his own theory of the doctrine of ideas. Two or three questions arise for solution at this point. In the first place, is it likely or even possible that a man of Plato's character should merge his identity for so long a period into that of another man so completely as to lose himself entirely in so doing? In answer we may say that much in the same way Shakespeare in more recent times is the prince of dramatic artists, that his materials are gathered and borrowed from this source and from that, and yet no one thinks of Shakespeare as anything but a master of literary creation. To be sure, Plato had the personality of one great master before him, but it is difficult to conceive that he so lost himself in that master as not to maintain his own intellectual identity. It seems quite incredible that Plato should have become Plato at all if there is nothing but Socrates in the earlier dialogues. Again, would it not seem strange that a doctrine, as pronounced as is the doctrine of ideas, should fail to be recognized in Plato's early years, especially in view of the fact that the doctrine is claimed to be Pythagorean, that Socrates was familiar with Pythagoreanism, and that he made his most substantial contribution to philosophy in his theory of the concept, which certainly is akin to the doctrine of ideas? That there is room here for a difference of opinion is seen in the fact that Lutoslawski finds the roots of the doctrine of ideas in Plato's discovery of *a priori* knowledge in the Meno, the Euthydemus and the Gorgias, and both he and Burnet assign all three of these dialogues to the Socratic, or earliest, period of Plato's writing. The reviewer of Burnet's book in The Nation, (December 31, 1914), goes so far as to say that "to maintain that the thought of the earlier dialogues is purely Socratic and in no sense Platonic, to hold that Plato was a mere dramatist when he wrote the Republic . . . seems . . . little short of nonsense". The present reviewer believes

that the more conservative interpretation is the more correct. Granted that Plato in his earlier period was primarily interested in Socrates, may it not be true that, as Socrates passed through the experiences which characterized the earlier and the later period of his thought and interest, and yet withal in a normal and logical development, so Plato, the faithful and loyal disciple, passed through a somewhat similar development, first devoting himself to the thorough mastery of the doctrines of his great teacher and then building upon that foundation of knowledge the superstructure of his own thought.

We have dwelt at some length on matters controversial. Let us look at the constructive features of the book. The absolute candor and fair-mindedness of the author compel the closest scrutiny of his work on the part of the reader. Matters of universal interest and importance are emphasized, non-essentials are subordinated. The widest range of scholarship is everywhere in evidence; the mastery of the materials is superb. It is safe to say that there is no other volume covering the same period in which the general reader is so well instructed and the scholar so highly edified. The author's purpose to assist students to a first-hand knowledge of the matters here dealt with has certainly been accomplished.

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### THE NEW YORK LATIN CLUB

At the first special meeting of The New York Latin Club for the current year, held at the Washington Irving High School, December 4, Dr. Mason D. Gray, of the East High School, Rochester, spoke on The Socialization of the Classics (see, for his views, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 8.88; *The Classical Journal* 7.196 ff., 338 ff., 8.244 ff., 9.301 ff., 11.33 ff.). Dr. Gray insisted that contact with life be maintained at every point, that a uniform grammatical terminology be adopted, that syntax be taught in its relation to English, and that inflection be studied through English derivatives. To do all this, he said, a new type of beginners' book is necessary, which could not be written by one person, but must be the work of many persons, the result of departmental cooperation. Lists of various sorts illustrating the points made were distributed.

JANE GRAY CARTER. *Censor.*

### THE CLASSICAL CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

The one hundred and twenty-second meeting of The Classical Club of Philadelphia was held on Thursday, December 16, with 42 of the 91 members present. Professor W. N. Bates, of the University of Pennsylvania, read an account of the Journey of Nicholas Biddle in Greece in 1806, taken from the MS journal of this famous old Philadelphian. The journal throws much light on the social and political condition of Greece at that time, as well as on the state of preservation of its ruins. Many of the remains which Biddle notes, as well as many inscriptions of which he tells, have since completely disappeared. Not merely the valuable

information contained in this old journal, but its old-fashioned language and quaint moralizings render it a document of peculiar interest.

B. W. MITCHELL, *Secretary.*

### Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals

- Antiquary—Nov., Notes of the Month [small classical finds recorded]; Antiquarian News [summaries of proceedings of archaeological societies].
- Athenaeum—Oct. 23, (M. S. Dimsdale, A History of Latin Literature).—Oct. 30, A Mistranslated Line in the Georgics, Mary Abbott.—Nov. 6, A Mistranslated Line in the Georgics, T. Okey; The Penmachno Inscription, F. Haverfield.
- Atlantic Monthly—Nov., A College of Poets [on the Aventine].
- Atlantis, Monthly Illustrated (New York)—Oct., Cretan Antiquities [*Κρητικά 'Αρχαίωτηρες*, ill.], K. Stavrides [continued from issues of January and March].—Nov., A Distinguished Hellenist [*Εἰς Διαπρεπὴς Ἑλληνιστὴς* = B. L. Gildersleeve].
- Bodleian Quarterly Record—Oct., Twelfth Century Latin Bodleian MSS.
- British Review—Oct., Cunctator [Latin poem on British munition-makers]; (Father Martindale, The Goddess of Ghosts [containing short stories about Elpenor, Simonides, Euripides and others]).
- Dial—Nov. 25, (Joseph Pennell's Pictures in the Land of Temples); (N. Douglas, Old Calabria).
- Euphron—Band 21, Hefte 1-2, Opitz und die Stoische Philosophie, K. H. Wels.
- Independent—Nov. 15, (P. E. More, Aristocracy and Justice).—Nov. 22, (C. H. Collins Baker, The Art Treasures of Great Britain).
- Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine—Nov., The Archaeological Collection of the University [ill.], R. V. D. Magoffin.
- Munsey's Magazine—Nov., Greece: Her Ancient Glories and her Modern Revival [ill.], Richard LeGallienne.
- Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen—Sept., Verzeichnis der Griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, A. Rahlfs.
- Nation—Nov. 25, Simonides to Belgium, E. H. Haight.—Dec. 2 Hadrian's Lament, W. B. Allen.
- National Geographic Magazine—May, Homer's Troy Today [ill.], J. E. Conner.
- Saturday Review—Oct. 30, Socrates and the Censor, A. D. G.
- Scientific Monthly—Oct., War Selection and the Ancient World, D. S. Jordan.
- Scribner's Magazine—Nov., With the Gods on Mount Olympus [ill.], A. E. Phoutrides and F. P. Parquhar.
- South Atlantic Quarterly—July, E. C. Richardson, Biblical Libraries (C. W. Peppler).
- Spectator—Nov. 13, An Early Allusion to Pacifists, G. Y. [Vergil, Aen. 11. 378 ff.].
- Texas Review—Sept., Prayer to Aidoneus [a poem], Gilbert Murray.
- Times (London) Weekly Edition, Literary Supplement—Nov. 5, "A Mistranslation" of Virgil's Georgics, G. Birdwood.
- University Magazine—Dec. 15, Religion in the Athens of Socrates, H. L. Stewart; Art Thou Weary, Art Thou Languid, Latine Reddium, W. D. LeSueur; (M. S. Dimsdale, A History of Latin Literature); (H. O. Taylor, Deliverance: The Freeing of the Spirit in the Ancient World).
- Zeitschrift für Aesthetik—Band 10, Heft 3, Lübkers Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums<sup>8</sup> (M. Dessoir); F. Poulsen, Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst (E. Pernice); H. Lamer, Griechische Kultur im Bilde<sup>2</sup> (Werner).

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